

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCCHAR 04199 01 OF 03 161511Z
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW GEUEO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 4199

LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST AND AMBASSADOR AGGREY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE UR RO CVIS SHUM EEWT PARM US
SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH ROMANIA ON EUROPE AND NEW CSCE
APPROACH

REF: (A) MOSCOW 13691, (B) WARSAW 4999, (C) STATE 120984

1. SUMMARY. IF WE DECIDE TO FOREGO CSCE DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS
FOR TIME BEING (REF A), QUESTION OF DEMARCHES TO EES WILL
BECOME MORE COMPLICATED: WE WOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT
TO INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT, BUT ALSO SUGGEST WE ARE GIVING KID
GLOVE TREATMENT TO COUNTRY WITH LEAST APPEALING DOMESTIC
SITUATION AND IMPLEMENTATION RECORD. FURTHER, ROMANIANS
CONSISTENTLY AND FIRMLY SITUATE EXCHANGES ON CSCE IN CONTEXT
OF WHAT THEY SEE AS COMMITMENT DURING CEAUSESCU'S APRIL
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PAGE 02 BUCCHAR 04199 01 OF 03 161511Z

VISIT TO EXPAND CONSULTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES TO
INCLUDE RUOPE, BETWEEN BELGRADE AND MADRID. EMBASSY
BELIEVES CSCE APPROACH TO ROMANIANS WOULD BE DESIRABLE
AND SHOULD BE USEFUL, SO LONG AS IT IS MADE IN PRECISELY
THIS CONTEXT. THEREFORE, WE PROPOSE CONSULTATIONS ON
EUROPE CHAIRIED AT DAS/DEPFONMIN LEVEL BY INTERAGENCY
TEAMS, WITH PRESENTATIONS ON STATUS AND PROSPECTS FOR

DETENTE, US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL, AND ON WHERE WE SEE ROMANIA IN SOVIET/EE POLICY. IN COURSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR WE SEE ROMANIAN SELF-INTEREST (AND COMMON US-ROMANIAN INTEREST) IN EVOLUTION TOWARD MORE MODERN, LIBERAL AND HUMANE ROMANIA, AND PRESENT SELECT LIST OF FINAL ACT-RELATED AREAS WHERE IMPROVEMENTS SHOULD BE FEASIBLE AND WOULD BE APPRECIATED, SOLICITING SIMILAR LIST ON US PRACTICES FROM THEM. SINCE BROAD-GAUGE CONSULTATIONS WOULD REQUIRE MORE CAREFUL PREPARATION THAN SIMPLE CSCE DEMARCHE, OPTIMUM TIMEFRAME WOULD BE FALL, TO ALLOW ROMANIANS TO MOBILIZE AFTER AUGUST BREAK, AT WHICH POINT EVOLUTION OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS MAY ALSO PERMIT PARALLEL CSCE DEMARCHE TO USSR. IF DECISION IN PRINCIPLE CAN BE MADE IN TIME, HOWEVER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST'S JUNE 24-28 VISIT TO BUCHAREST WOULD PROVIDE EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR PROPOSING CONSULTATIONS TO GOR. END SUMMARY

2. CONSIDERATIONS MILITATING AGAINST AN EARLY CSCE DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS (REF A) DO NOT OF COURSE APPLY IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA. AT SAME TIME, IF THEY ARE AS PERSUASIVE TO DEPARTMENT AS THEY SEEM HERE, DECISION TO FOREGO SOVIET DEMARCHE AT THIS TIME WOULD, IT APPEARS TO US, COMPLICATE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT IS DESIRABLE TO GO AHEAD WITH DEMARCHES TO SMALLER EE STATES, INCLUDING ROMANIA. WITHOUT A PARALLEL DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS, SUCH

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 04199 01 OF 03 161511Z

DEMARCHES WOULD NO DOUBT DEMONSTRATE THAT WE TREAT ALL EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INDIVIDUALLY AND SEEK TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF IMPLEMENTATION IN OUR DEALINGS WITH EACH, TAKING SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS INTO ACCOUNT. (WITH ROMANIANS, IT WOULD SERVE TO SUPPORT OUR CLAIM THAT WE DO NOT APPROACH CSCE IMPLEMENTATION FROM BLOC-TO-BLOC PERSPECTIVE, ESPECIALLY IF SUPPLEMENTED BY DEMARCHES WITH INDIVIDUAL ALLIES OR NNA.) POLITICALLY, ON OTHER HAND, DEMARCHES TO EE WITHOUT DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS WOULD GIVE AT LEAST SUPERFICIAL APPEARANCE THAT WE ARE PRESSING THE SHEEP WHILE LETTING THE WOLF RUN WILD, GIVEN RELATIVELY MORE LIBERAL DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS AND IMPLEMENTATION PERFORMANCE OF MANY EES ON CSCE AND CSCE-RELATED ISSUES, AS COMPARED WITH USSR.

3. SPECIFICALLY WITH REGARD TO ROMANIA, ANOTHER PROBLEM ARISES. IT HAS BECOME APPARENT IN DISCUSSIONS OVER TWO MONTHS SINCE PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S APRIL VISIT TO US THAT ROMANIANS BELIEVE EXTENSION TO NEW TOPICS OF ALREADY FRUITFUL BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WAS POINT ON WHICH TWO SIDES WERE IN AGREEMENT. AMONG NEW TOPICS ENVISAGED IS EUROPEAN SECURITY, AFTER BELGRADE

AND LEADING UP TO MADRID. IN HIS MAY 12 MEETING WITH MFA WESTERN HEMISPHERE DIRECTOR BOGDAN, EUR/EE DEPUTY DIRECTOR SCHMIDT ALLUDED TO DESIRABILITY OF FURTHER BILATERAL TALKS ON CSCE, WHICH BOGDAN WELCOMED. HOWEVER, WHEN DCM FOLLOWED UP WITH BOGDAN MAY 17 THIS PROSPECT, BOGDAN'S POSITIVE REJOINDER PLACED SUCH TALKS SQUARELY IN CONTEXT OF WASHINGTON AGREEMENT TO EXTEND RANGE AND DEPTH OF US-ROMANIAN CONSULTATIONS ON BILATERAL ISSUES TO INCLUDE EUROPE, AND THIS HAS BEEN CONTEXT CONSISTENTLY ADOPTED BY ROMANIANS WHEN TOPIC HAS COME UP SINCE.

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 04199 02 OF 02 161526Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 4199

LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST AND AMBASSADOR AGGREY

4. GIVEN THIS CONTEXT, WE BELIEVE THAT CSCE DEMRCHE TOO ROMANIA LIMITED TO NARROW CSCE IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES IN THREE-BASKET LAUNDRY-LIST FORMAT WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD HERE, AND WOULD THEREFORE NOT BE EFFECTIVE IN ELICITING THE KINDS OF PROGRESS IN FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION WE CAN AND SHOULD SEEK. OUR EXPLANATIONS AS TO WHY WE WERE PRESENTING SUCH LISTS TO ROMANIA AND OTHER EES BUT NOT TO SOVIETS (IF IT IS DECIDED TO DEFER SOVIET DEMARCHE) WOULD COMPOUND RATHER THAN ALLEVIATE DIFFICULTIES, AND REDUCE CHANCES OF FORWARD MOVEMENT STILL FURTHER.

5. FOR OUR PART, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE SUCH FORWARD MOVEMENT ON PART OF ROMANIA IS NOT ONLY DESIRABLE, BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID, BUT ALSO POSSIBLE, IN AFTERMATH OF SUCCESSFUL CEAUSESCU VISIT, AND THAT PROPERLY CONCEIVED AND
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 04199 02 OF 02 161526Z

ARTICULATED DEMARCHE IS APPROPRIATE AND PROMISING VEHICLE FOR MOVING GOR TO SAME CONCLUSION, AND TO CONCRETE STEPS. KEY, THEN, IS PROPER FORMULATION AND PRESENTATION IN CONTEXT WHICH OPTIMIZES PROSPECT FOR FAVORABLE RECEPTION AND EFFECTIVE ACTION.

6. IN OUR VIEW, KEY IS ALREADY AVAILABLE, IN ROMANIAN CONVICTION THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE A COMMITMENT TO EXTEND CONSULTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND A COMMON INTEREST IN CONSULTING ON EUROPE. WE THEREFORE ENVISAGE, AND COMMEND TO DEPARTMENT FOR CONSIDERATION, CONCEPT OF CONSULTATIONS ON EUROPE BETWEEN BELGRADE AND MADRID, EITHER IN WASHINGTON OR BUCHAREST, BETWEEN INTERAGENCY TEAMS HEADED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS, ON US SIDE, AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GLIGA, OR WHOEVER IS REPOSIBLE FOR US PORTFOLIO AT DEPUTY MINISTER LEVEL AT THE TIME, ON ROMANIAN SIDE. AS REGARDS US, AGENDA WOULD INVOLVE PRESENTATIONS ON US VIEW OF DETENTE IN EUROPE, STATUS OF AND PROSPECTS FOR US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING EUROPE, ROMANIA'S PLACE IN OUR SOVIET/EE POLICY AND TIMETABLE FOR PREPARING A SUCCESSFUL MADRID MEETING. WHILE EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE, PRESENTATIONS OF THIS SCOPE WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED PRIMARILY IN WASHINGTON, AND US TEAM STAFFED PRIMARILY FROM DEPARTMENT BUREAU AND WASHINGTON AGENCIES.

7. EMBASSY SUGGESTED IN ITS COMMENTS ON GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR ROMANIA THAT MOST PRODUCTIVE APPROACH TO LONG-TERM POLICY GOAL OF SEEING ROMANIA BECOME A MORE MODERN, LIBERAL AND HUMANE COUNTRY WHILE RETAINING SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE FROM USSR IS TO ENCOURAGE ROMANIANS TO SEE SELF-INTEREST (AND COMMON
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 04199 02 OF 02 161526Z

US-ROMANIAN INTEREST) IN PURSUING THIS GOAL. CONSULTATIONS IN FORMAT SUGGESTED ABOVE WOULD PROVIDE NATURAL OPPORTUNITY--BOTH IN US PRESENTATIONS AND IN INFORMAL EXCHANGES WHICH NORMALLY ACCOMPANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS-- TO MAKE THIS VERY POINT WITH POLICY LEVEL ROMANIAN

OFFICIALS. IN PARTICULAR, PRESENTATION ON ROMANIA'S PLACE IN US POLICY TOWARD SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE WOULD BE APPROPRIATE VEHICLE FOR DESCRIPTION OF DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES WE SEE AMONG COUNTRIES IN THIS PART OF WORLD. AT SAME TIME, CONTEXT OF GENERAL CONSULTATIONS ON IMPORTANT ISSUES, AS AGREED BY PRESIDENTS, IS CONTEXT MOST LIKELY TO ASSURE EFFECTIVE DELIVERY OF MESSAGE, SINCE IT WOULD SIGNIFY THAT WE HOPE FOR AND EXPECT MORE FROM ROMANIA PRECISELY BECAUSE WE VALUE PRESENT GOOD RELATIONS AND ARE WORKING TO IMPROVE THEM IN CONCRETE WAYS, LIKE THESE CONSULTATIONS.

8. IN SUCH A CONTEXT, IT WOULD BE ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE, EMBASSY BELIEVES, TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC WRITTEN DEMARCHE ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN US PRESENTATION ON WORK TO BE DONE BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID MEETING BY ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS. IN DOING SO, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT, GIVEN ROMANIAN SENSITIVITY TO RECIPROCITY CONSIDERATIONS, TO SOLICIT SIMILAR DEMARCHE CONCERNING ROMANIAN DESIDERATA VISA-A-VIS US PRACTICES AT SAME TIME. DEMARCHE WOULD ALSO PROVIDE IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO REGISTER FACT THAT OUR CONCERNS EVEN IN HUMANITARIAN AREA EXTEND BEYOND EMIGRATION--THE RIGHT TO LEAVE--TO INCLUDE IMPROVEMENTS OVER TIME FOR VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO WILL WISH TO STAY. SUBSTANCE OF OUR DEMARCHE SHOULD BE A SELECT LIST OF AREAS DIRECTLY RELATED TO FINAL ACT WHERE IMPROVEMENTS IN ROMANIAN PRACTICE SHOULD BE FEASIBLE, AND WHERE VISIBLE IMPROVEMENTS WOULD CERTAINLY BE DESIRABLE, AND APPRECIATED, AS CONCRETE DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE ROMANIAN POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO FULL FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION OVER TIME. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BUCAR 04199 02 OF 02 161526Z

EMBASSY RECOMMENDS SPECIAL ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO INCLUSION OF FOLLOWING TOPICS.

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 04199 03 OF 03 161538Z
ACTION EUR-12

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BUCHAREST 4199

9. BASKET I:

-- FINALIZATION OF AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE MILITARY LECTURERS, IN KEEPING WITH RECENT GOR PROPOSAL.

-- PROPOSAL TO CONSULT PERIODICALLY AT EXPERT LEVEL BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, ROMANIANS HAVE BEEN AND ARE ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN CBMS IN MANY CONTEXTS, MOST RECENTLY IN UNSSOD. CONSULTATIONS COULD SERVE (1) TO ELICIT THEIR IDEAS, (2) TO CHANNEL THEM INTO MORE REALISTIC DIRECTIONS, AS MADRID APPROACHES, AND (3) TO GIVE US IMPROVED ACCESS TO ROMANIAN MILITARY DEALING WITH POLICY ISSUES, IN KEEPING WITH OUR GOAL AND OBJECTIVE OF EXPANDING US-ROMANIAN MILITARY TO-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS.

10. BASKET II:

--CONSULTATIONS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE ARRANGEMENTS FOR COOPERATION IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, INSIDE OR OUTSIDE FORMAL JOINT VENTURE FRAMEWORK, INVOLVING TRANSFER OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCCHAR 04199 03 OF 03 161538Z

MATURE RATHER THAN HIGHLY ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES. AGRICULTURE IS FIELD WHERE POTENTIAL FOR DE FACTO ARRANGEMENTS POINTING IN THIS DIRECTION IS CURRENTLY WORTH STUDY, BUT THERE MAY BE OTHERS WHICH SUCH CONSULTATIONS WOULD BRING TO LIGHT.

--AGREEMENT TO MAKE AVAILABLE INCREASED IF STILL LIMITED AMOUNT OF INFORMATION CONCERNING ROMANIAN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION AND PROSPECTS TO PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN, ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS, AS PRESENTLY IS BEING GIVEN TO INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND, IF NECESSARY, TO ALTER REGULATIONS CONCERNING DISCLOSURE OF OFFICIAL SECRETS TO FOREIGNERS TO MAKE THIS FEASIBLE.

11. BASKET III:

-- SIMPLIFICATION OF ROMANIAN ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES OR PRACTICES FOR PERMANENT DEPARTURES, E.G. (1) BY ELIMINATION OF COUNTRY DESIGNATION ON EXIT VISAS, TO MAKE POSSIBLE DEPARTURES FOR ANY STATE WILLING TO RECEIVE DEPARTEE, OR (2) BY ALTERATION OF REGULATIONS ON TIMING OF SETTLEMENT OF PERSONAL AFFAIRS TO PROVIDE FOR SETTLEMENT AFTER RECEIVING STATE VISA RECEIVED, RATHER THAN AFTER PASSPORT APPLICATION APPROVED, AS AT PRESENT, OR (3) BY ELIMINATION OF CURRENT PROCEDURE REQUIRING APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO OBTAIN PASSPORT APPLICATION. EACH OF THESE PRACTICES OFTEN CAUSES SEVERE AND, IN OUR VIEW, UNNECESSARY HARDSHIP TO THOSE LEAVING COUNTRY; AND ALTERATIONS REQUESTED SHOULD NOT, IN OUR VIEW, REQUIRE SUBSTANTIAL OR EXCESSIVELY PAINFUL MODIFICATIONS IN GOR LAW OR PROCEDURE.

-- EXCHANGE OF LETTERS CONCERNING TREATMENT OF DUAL NATIONALS, AS ALREADY PROPOSED BY US, ON MODEL OF LETTERS EXCHANGED WITH POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND AGREEMENT CONCERNING STATUS OF DUAL NATIONALS, PROPOSAL FOR WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUCAR 04199 03 OF 03 161538Z

IS CURRENTLY AWAITING CIRCULAR 175 AUTHORIZATION IN DEPARTMENT.

-- MODIFICATION ON RESTRICTIONS AND REQUIREMENTS CONCERNING CONTACT OF ROMANIAN CITIZENS WITH FOREIGNERS UNDER LAWS PROMULGATED IN 1974. PROHIBITION FOR ALL BUT CLOSE RELATIVES AGAINST STAYING IN ROMANIAN HOMES, UNDER PAIN OF STIFF PENALTIES FOR THOSE WHO RECEIVE THEM, IS INHIBITION ON CONTACTS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND ON TOURISM AS WELL. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT IT IS APPLIED HAPHAZARDLY, AND PROBABLY, THEREFORE, UNEQUITABLY. AS FOR REPORTING REQUIREMENTS, THEY APPEAR TO US TO INHIBIT NOT ONLY TOURISM AND GENERAL PERSON-TO-PERSON CONTACTS BUT ALSO EXCHANGES AND LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCIENTISTS AND CULTURAL PERSONALITIES UNDER AGREEMENTS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH GOR ALSO HAS POLICY INTEREST. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY REPRESENT UNNECESSARY OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVEMENT OF POLICY GOALS GOR HAS SET FOR ITSELF. LAWS ARE RECENT, WHICH SUGGESTS GOR DEVELOPED AND PROSPERED FOR MANY YEARS WITHOUT THEM, AND THAT RESTORATION OF STATUS QUO ANTE 1974 IN LIGHT OF NEW SITUATION CREATED BY FINAL ACT AND CSCE PROCESS MAY WELL BE IN INTEREST AS WELL AS COMPETENCE OF GOR.

12. EMBASSY RECOGNIZES THAT CONSULTATIONS PROPOSED ABOVE, INCLUDING DEMARCHE, WILL REQUIRE MORE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED DECISIONS AND MORE CAREFUL PREPARATION THAN DEMARCHE ALONE, AND THAT TIMING WILL BE THEREBY AFFECTED. TAKING LONGER LEAD-TIME INTO ACCOUNT, IT SEEMS TO US

THAT MOST SUITABLE TIMEFRAME WOULD BE OCTOBER, OR IN ANY
CASE EARLY AUTUMN DATE WHICH WOULD PERMIT ROMANIANS
TO MOBILIZE FOLLOWING AUGUST VACATION PERIOD. (IT
OCCURS TO US THAT US-SOVIET SITUATION MAY ALSO HAVE
EVOLVED BY THEN TO A POINT PERMITTING DEMARCHE TO USSR
AND ELIMINATION OF UNFORTUNATE DISTINCTION BETWEEN
FAVORED SOVIETS AND OTHERS WHICH WOULD ARISE IN ITS
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PAGE 04 BUCAR 04199 03 OF 03 161538Z

ABSENCE.) BUT IN MEANTIME, ASSISTANT SECRETARY VEST'S
JUNE 24-28 VISIT TO BUCHAREST WOULD APPEAR TO PRESENT
EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO PROPOSE BROAD-GAUGE DISCUSSIONS
OF THIS KIND, IF DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO GO THIS ROUTE
CAN BE TAKEN IN TIME. ADVISE.
SIMONS

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